/44 cont'd/
are only rarely seen. The ho-ts'ang (or drying bin) and the granary are both built beside the house. The domesticated animals are pastured in the open fields. Corrals for cattle and pens for swine are very rarely seen.

4. Travel

The Miao live high in the mountains. From the bottom to the top of a single mountain is a long distance. Furthermore, the mountain paths are usually steep and rugged and difficult to travel on. During our field trip, we were always exhausted after visiting a Miao village, and it always took us a long time to recover. But the Miao, whether young or old, male or female, are all energetic and light as birds. They do not appear to be tired even after they have climbed several high peaks. Moreover, they all walk barefooted. Sharp stones and thorns do not bother them, and they never hurt themselves. It is usually more /45/ than a hundred li to and from a Chinese market. Starting off in the morning and returning in the evening, they never stay a day or half a day more than necessary. Only a few relatively wealthy persons ride horses.

5. Social Intercourse

The Miao are very polite in their social intercourse whether with relatives or friends. When guests leave, the host always sees them out the door. As he sees his guests off, he bends his body slightly forward with head bowed and both hands raised to the level of his head, and the guests do the same.

/172 cont./
782 wine bowl, water bowl, and other things have to be thoroughly washed before they can be taken into the house.

(13) The White Tiger

[755] The reason, the place, the ritual, and the arrangements are the same as those for the "Five Kuei," except no eggs are used for sacrifice.

(14) Expelling Evil Influences

[755] The reason, the place, the ritual, and the arrangements are the same as those for the "White Tiger."

(15) Expelling the Kuei of Quarrels

[755 578 770] In the event of sickness or of encountering a kuei's mischief, or a quarrel with someone, a sorcerer-priest is asked to come to the house to expel the kuei of quarrels. If one inadvertently walks into a house where this performance is going on, as soon as he becomes aware of this, he also has to hold a performance to expel the kuei of quarrels. When a Chinese runs [171] into this situation, he does not have to avoid it. Therefore, when a Miao happens to go to the house of someone whom he [577 609] does not know well, he must first ask before entering: "Is it all right to come in?" He must wait for the reply, "It is all right to come in," before he enters. This is not so much to get permission from the master of the house, as that he is afraid of running into an untoward situation whereby he will have to spend money for the kuei, and so he is doubly careful.

For the ritual for expelling the kuei of quarrels, they spread out rice straw under the eaves outside the house during the daytime. On the straw are set up five cups of wine, five piles of mi-pa, with the middle pile having three sticks of

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

I found them friendly and hospitable, but without a sense of relative values. The family with whom I lived would accept no money for the rooms, all the rice I could eat, and all the firewood I needed for heating and cooking. In addition, now and then they brought me vegetables from their own gardens, included me in their feasts, and gave me a bit of something special at other times. But, once I began to knit caps for them and give them medicines, prints of individual snapshots, and a treat for the children upon my return from market, they expected me to continue all those things for themselves and all their relatives, even when the war made communications difficult and prices, accordingly, increasingly high.

They were less conventional than the Chinese, though that does not mean that they lacked social standards. For instance, children were repeatedly rebuked when they went between the fire and those who were sitting around it. At feasts it was considered inhospitable should the host or hostess allow a guest's wine bowl to become empty. No guest ever left the village emptyhanded. Men and women, girls and boys mingled freely, for they considered themselves one large family. There was much goodnatured teasing and repartee. Children, however, often gave way to tantrums and some rather heated arguments took place among adults on occasion. One morning some of the older men of the village were discussing something with the old man of our family. Not only did the talking get loud and sarcastic in tone, but some one of them broke a bowl by throwing it onto the stones of the court outside his room. But on the whole the Miao village was a very pleasant place in which to live.

Language. Dr. Li Fang-kuei [14] told me that he considers the Miao dialects a distinct language group, belonging to the Sinitic family of languages. They have no written language. My informant, however, declared that the Cowrie Shell Miao speak the ancient Chinse dialect spoken in Kiangsi at the time their ancestor migrated. There are either seven or nine tones — authorities differ as to

[14] At that time acting director of the Section on Philology of the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica.

low stools, not more than four inches high, and 352
close at hand is an article of furniture which serves
as a table, though it would be flattering to call it
by that name. Arranged by the side of the walls
are a grain bin, a cistern or tub in which the drinking
water is kept, a contrivance which serves as a bed,
a large iron pan for cooking and other purposes,
and innumerable odds and ends which to you
would appear useless but to the owner are valued
family possessions. On rudely contrived shelves
or in a roughly made cupboard are several earthen-
ware or wooden basins with primitive chopsticks
and spoons. You will notice the loom, which is 286
as primitive as that used in the days of the Biblical
Pharaohs. It will interest you and you will wish
to examine the framework, the warp beam, lease
rods, shed stick, heddle-rod, cloth beam and
unfinished fabric. Happily it is not a fixture and
can be moved outside the house, so that the weary
housewife can weave in the sun. For the most
part the articles enumerated, together with bundles
of clothes, form the whole household possessions
of a Miao family. The tragedy of these mud huts 342
is not so much the poverty as the ugliness and the
absence of cleanliness. The missionary often has
to sleep in a house such as this, and when his bed
has been set against the dividing wall, if this has
been made of wattle as it frequently is, some animal
will push his head through a hole in the partition
to have a look at the stranger.

Miao salute one another with great cordiality, 576
men greeting men, and women, women, by rubbing

576 one another's left shoulder and asking *"Dieh zao nioh gioh?"*—"Are you well?" An adult greets children by rubbing or patting his or her head. The form of farewell is (the host) "Go slowly, go slowly" (the parting guest) "Sit slowly, sit slowly". They are wonderfully hospitable and guests are expected to eat to satisfy. How often the traveller sees them stuff away basin after basin of maize until he fears there will be a terrible accident! People will go short themselves so that visitors be generously treated. Should a guest be of some importance a goat or sheep is slain and cooked—it is not always meticulously clean—and upon the departure of the guest a leg of the animal is always given to him. A non-observance of this custom would be a serious breach of good manners, as also it would be to refuse food to even a casual visitor. Hospitality is as characteristic of them as of the Arab, and a Miao will borrow food to entertain a guest. Though poor, thriftless and no lovers of fighting, they are simple and generous, honest and lovable. One of the child races of the world, they are as old as the Chinese, and when Moses led the children of Israel through the wilderness, the Miao were hunting wild beasts on their beloved hills and at the close of day their bards would sing a Miao version of the Creation, the Flood, and the Re-population of the World; and story-tellers would narrate quaint legends which have been handed down to this generation. Here is one. Would not Kipling have enjoyed it?

574 181

773 539 Long, long ago, instead of there being only one

AKha A04
Miao AE5

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M /460 cont./
147 somewhat soft /461/ and plaintive, especially in comparison
M with the Akha women, who are superior to them in hardiness, as
147 these people generally are in relation to the Meau. I found
482 among the Meau of both sexes particularly good and reliable
[609] porters, though, in general, they perform porter-service for strangers very unwillingly. After they had once declared themselves ready to come to terms, however, the men as well as the women, without another word, took on loads up to 50 kilograms, walked along with these on their backs so rapidly that we could hardly keep up with them, and steadfastly kept their promise.

M The opposite of this pronounced mountain-folk character
147 of the Meau is formed by their valley-dwelling neighbors, the
181 Lao and the Schan /Shan/, who represent typical tropical peo-
171 ple of the valley lowlands. They are accustomed to having Nature pour everything from her horn of plenty into their laps without any effort, they love idleness, and they are lazy and indolent, for a single annual harvest abundantly feeds the family. They, too, are cheerful, but unreliable and flighty. The Lao were indeed easy to persuade to serve as porters, but they would complain even if the loads weighed only 18 kilograms and usually ran away after one day!

M The Meau treat women and children, as well as the
576 subordinates and unfree (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section, "Age Classes, Secret Societies, Rank Organization") well throughout and are courteous to superiors without being humble. Abadie (1) also points out: "The Meau women are

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1. Page 151.

cheerful, gay, and not very shy, especially when they have acquired confidence."

M Among one another the Meau are very friendly and
571 have a pronounced property sense. Whereas with regard to foreign
[648] people any violation of their property rights immediately arouses
[152] their warlike instincts, among the unmarried lads even the female sex cannot provoke any deep enmities; for these reasons duels
M are unknown. Such behavior is quite plausible in view of their
577

/466 cont./

576 The maintenance of good manners is observed in a way [514] that we found very pleasant. It is regarded as indecent to per- [264] form one's private functions before others, to break wind, or to belch during meals, and as impossible to spit during meals. [832] Furthermore, it is regarded as improper to exchange caresses in public or to be seen doing so, or to converse about sexual matters. [521] Thus, it is not permissible for a young man to divulge the name [602] of the girl whose love he has enjoyed, or to conduct erotic conversations before relatives. Moreover, it is not proper for [562] women to appear before strangers. They are not to be seen at [609] all in the presence of visitors, and it took a long time before [125] the women and girls of the Meau abandoned their reserve toward us.

574 Visitors, on the other hand, violate good manners if 576 they enter a house immediately. They must first announce their presence outside and await an invitation by a male occupant. Only if no men, but only women are present may the visitor enter immediately. On the other hand, in contrast to so many peoples, it is quite in keeping with good form if a guest inquires about the wife and children of the host. As has already been pointed out (see the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," the section, [562] "Food"), the family members eat together as a rule, but in no case the women before the men, since that is regarded as improper. The young girls also wait at the table for what is left over for them.

At common meals for both sexes, nothing is changed [264] when a single good friend of the family eats with them. Only then the guest, along with the family, has to observe a series [273] of rules likewise mentioned previously. For example, a man may not drink to the health of a strange woman or of a female against whom there are incest prohibitions, just as it is likewise [832] generally prohibited for girls to pour alcohol for a young man, if they do not wish to express an unmistakable invitation by it. This also applies to married women who therefore may pour brandy only for their husbands. In this connection, the taboo regulations /467/ must, of course, also be observed (see the chapter, "Life in the Community," the sections, "Marriage Obstacles and Regulations" and "Old Age and Death").

/467 cont./

264 574 If the meal is not eaten in the "intimate circle," that is, if there are several guests or even strangers at the table, the men eat together first, and then the women, girls, boys, and children eat what is left over from the feast. The same rule applies for meals on festive days.

515 826 [461] The industriousness of the Meau is indicated by the fact that they do not regard long fingernails as a sign of beauty or as a symbol of good luck and health, but rather as poor grooming and a sign of laziness. This attitude has nothing to do with cleanliness and hygiene, which leave much to be desired (see the chapter, "Medicine").

● 576 Greeting formulas that are associated with the time of day or mode of action, such as "Good day" or "Till we meet again," are unknown. Whenever two Meau meet, the older one first asks the younger one: "Where are you going?" or "where do you come from?" This greeting formula is therefore independent of the time of the day. As a gesture of greeting, the [516] Meau squat on the ground or, standing, bend the upper part of the body far forward and hold both hands flat in front of them, with the palms upward as though they were to receive two handfuls of rice. At the same time the hands are moved up and down. The person of higher position makes this gesture of [554] greeting to the person of lower position first, thus, the older to the younger, the man to the woman, the host, as a matter of courtesy, to the guest.

574 576 In the latter case, the invitation to enter the house is given at the same time. The guest replies with the same polite gestures and slowly steps closer. This behavior is the opposite of our European customs, but among the Meau the meaning lies in the fact that the higher person first takes cognizance, so to speak, of the presence of the other by his greeting. The Meau simply ignores an enemy and does not greet him because he regards it as beneath his dignity to converse with him. This "taking cognizance of the other" is done among the Meau with appropriate politeness. When a guest takes his leave, he announces it several times, but only after some time will he actually decide to depart.

/467 cont./

426 576 The extreme politeness of the Meau is also shown in collecting a debt. The Meau proceeds on the assumption that this demand for payment will not be a pleasant experience for the debtor, and /468/ the unpleasantness must be presented to him in the most amiable manner possible. The creditor announces his visit several months in advance. On the day set the debtor prepares a feast in which the creditor participates without saying a word about the debt. The Meau assume that this is superfluous, for the debtor knows only too well why the creditor has come. Shortly before the guest departs, the debt is paid without any request.

576 The same line of thought is the basis for the procedure of a visit if the visitor would like to make a request. Everything possible is discussed first, except the purpose of the call. The reason for the visit is mentioned quite casually only in connection with the repeatedly announced departure.

192 576 As "please," the Meau use the word tau or tău mĕn yē, which literally means "please a little"; "thank you" is tŏ tsę, but one usually says tŏ tsę̆ hŏ lŏ, with the meaning of "thank you very kindly!" As affirmation, the Meau use yā; as negation, kŭ tsĭ ŏa. They also have expressions for a number of emotions: esteem = lău sĭ yŭ̄; veneration = lău sĭ lŭ lę̄; contempt = hŭ yŭ; fear, horror = hŭ̄; hatred = a drawn-out o, amazement = ŏŭ.

156 The Meau vary greatly in their mental abilities. One finds average persons among them, but in addition personalities with pronounced qualities of leadership, who stand out because of a talent for organization, which is peculiar to the Meau in general to a high degree, as well as because of heightened rhetorical gifts and an innate authority which everywhere is made up of the immeasurable, imponderable qualities of a natural leader. Such a born leader, for example, was the 115 Meau chief, Tsin Tsai, whose hospitality we enjoyed for some 156 time and with whom I undertook hunting expeditions. It is 622 interesting how his personality impressed even an unprejudiced 123 European observer. For this reason I shall reproduce the pertinent section from my wife's journal:

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/475 cont./

A 576 [648] [609] The Akha, too, treat women and children well, but are not nearly as polite as the Meau, are more robust in every respect, and believe less in the authority of the Whites, whom they approach with confidence. In any case, among the Akha nothing is to be seen of any overly great politeness toward strangers or one another, though they greet one another with the customary "where are you going" or "where do you come from." A [554] Among the Akha, as among the Meau, the younger ones must wait until they are addressed by the older ones. The Akha, however, are not familiar with any gesture of greeting. For M [177] [576] them the handshaking, folding of hands, or placing them on the chest, as is customary among the valley dwellers, is as unknown as the greeting gestures of the Meau, which are probably influenced by the Chinese.

If the Akha combine a visit with a request, they observe the same custom as the Meau do and casually mention the reason for their coming only in connection with the departure, likewise announced several times. A 192 576 As "please," the Akha use the word etšĭbĭlă̆; as "thank you," mŭhă̄. I could not find expressions for disdain, veneration, esteem, and astonishment. Expressions of fear and horror are tšŏ gŭ yŏ̄ or only a drawn-out ī; the expression for hatred is mă̄ hŏ̄ nŏn yă̄. As affirmation, they utter a drawn-out ŏ̄; as negation, măī; mădyă̄ is said with the meaning of "there is none."

A M 531 [577] In representational artistic talent, the Akha women, like those of the Meau, are far superior to the men. To be sure, the men of both peoples hardly have any opportunity for /476/ pictorial representation, which, in connection with the production of the richly ornamented clothing, is one of the virtues of a good housewife (see the chapter, "Men's Work and Women's Work"). A 152 126 Even in connection with these representations, however, the greediness of the Akha became apparent. Not only did they demand exorbitant prices for everything that I wanted to acquire and, if I was unwilling to agree to it, disappear at once with their articles, never to appear again, but the Akha were also the only people to whom I had to give a special payment for every object that my wife wanted to sketch. It was